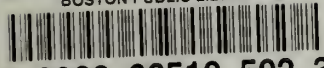


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Mr. George Wymberley-Jones DeRenne.

In the recent demise of this cultivated gentleman and prominent citizen, Savannah and the State of Georgia have sustained a grievous loss. His ample fortune, educated taste and public spirit were generously enlisted in promoting the material progress, the ornamentation and the civilization of the city which he loved as his own and as the home of his fathers.

Associated by descent with the primal settlement of the colony of Georgia, carrying in his veins the blood of some who labored early and well for the development and confirmation of the best interests of the State, retaining in his ownership and guarding with filial devotion the beautiful plantation of Wormsloe, the possession of an ancestor, who was the friend and trusted lieutenant of Oglethorpe, he at all times cherished and exhibited a remarkable affection for the traditions and memories of his family and State. To rescue these from forgetfulness, and to perpetuate them in attractive and enduring form, was ever his pleasure and pride. Of liberal education, enriched by varied and careful study, extensive travel and enlarged observation, he appreciated and cultivated those standards in literature and art which give birth to the accurate scholar and capable critic.

His beautiful residence was the abode of the choicest hospitality, and within its walls dwelt refinement most attractive and elevating. To him is the Georgia Historical Society beholden for generous gifts and substantial encouragement. His intelligent co-operation in everything which concerned the well being and advancement of that institution, of which all Georgians are justly proud, was most pronounced. The Confederate monument will remain a lasting witness of his liberality and taste. Many are they who lament the withdrawal by death of his helping hand. His benefactions were without ostentation, and in their bestowal he was judicious and thoughtful.

Prompt and accurate in his business relations, he neglected nothing which demanded his personal supervision, and administered his large estate with a skill, energy and judgment worthy of all commendation. In her most attractive walks does the city of Savannah exhibit the proofs of his public spirit and love of substantial internal improvement.

The literary tastes of Mr. DeRenne found expression in the following publications: In 1847 he reprinted, from the Wormsloe press, the rare and valuable political tract by George Walton, William Few and Richard Howley, entitled *Observations upon the effects of certain late political suggestions by the Delegates of Georgia*.

Two years afterwards appeared his caustic *Observations on Dr. Stevens' History of Georgia*.

In 1849 was issued the second of the Wormsloe Quartos, entitled *History of the Province of Georgia, with Maps of Original Survey, by John Gerar William DeBrahm, His Majesty's Surveyor General for the Southern District of North America*. This was a most valuable publication. DeBrahm's manuscript, from which the portion relating specially to Georgia was thus printed, exists in the library of Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Mr. DeRenne did for Georgia what Mr. Weston had accomplished for Carolina.

The following year, in the third of the Wormsloe Quartos, were presented the interesting *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas*, the mother of Generals Charles Cotesworth and Thomas Pinckney.

In 1851 Mr. DeRenne published, as his fourth Wormsloe Quarto, the *Diary of Colonel Winthrop Sargent, Adjutant General of the United States Army during the campaign of 1791*. Only such portion of the diary was printed as related to St. Clair's expedition.

Of these quartos but a very limited edition was printed, and the copies were distributed among the noted libraries of the country, and placed in the hands of favored friends. Of the first quarto there are only twenty-one copies; of the second, forty-nine; of the third, nineteen; and of the fourth, forty-six. They are all striking illustrations of excellent typography and literary taste, and are highly esteemed for their merit and because of their rarity.

The third volume of the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* consists mainly of the letters of General Oglethorpe to the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia—of communications from Sir James Wright—the third and last Royal Governor of Georgia, to the Earl of Dartmouth, and to Lord George Germain, then Secretaries of State of Great Britain, and of a report from Governor Wright to Lord Dartmouth on the condition of the colony in September, 1773.

It was through the researches and personal intervention of Mr. DeRenne that copies of these important letters and documents were secured to the society from the originals in the public offices in London.

It should be further stated in praise of the liberality of our deceased friend, and as an additional proof of his active interest in the welfare of the Georgia Historical Society, that the entire charge of the publication of the fourth volume of the society's collections was borne by him. Dear is his memory to this society, and sadly will his counsel and generosity be missed in its future career.

Prior to his lamented death Mr. DeRenne contemplated publishing, in well digested form, all the Colonial acts of Georgia. When the writer last conversed with him on the subject he was much interested in this project, and had made good progress in the procurement and arrangement of the requisite material. It is earnestly hoped that this valuable design will not be wholly frustrated by his sad demise.

Our friend has departed, but before going he bequeathed literary, social, cultivated, generous and patriotic associations, which will be cherished in special and grateful remembrance.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.
Augusta, Ga., September 6th, 1880.

Presented by Mrs De Renne

in compliance with
the wish of

W. F. De Renne

Sept 20th 1880

D I A R Y

OF

COL. WINTHROP SARGENT

ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES' ARMY

DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF MDCCXCI.

Now First Printed.

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*The original Manuscript of the Diary of Colonel Sargent is in the possession of his grandson Winthrop Sargent, Esquire, of Philadelphia, to whose kindness I am indebted for permission to print in the present volume that part of the Diary which relates to St. Clair's expedition. The two plates are **fac-simile** copies of the original drawings.*

June 20, 1851.

Diary.

IN this Diary, (principally intended as a record of meteorological observations), brief memorandums of public transactions in which the Author has borne a part or been officially interested are frequently made, and on the 16th of June, being appointed Adjutant General of the Army operating against the Western Indians, the movements and casualties of the Troops, with all immediately connected circumstances, were minutely detailed in their order to the close of the campaign, and afforded proper documents for a Narrative thereof.—The unfortunate Defeat upon the 4th of November, by involving the loss of all his papers, excepting some loose notes, has put it out of his power to take up even the march of the Army with any degree of regularity at an earlier period than the seventh of October.

From memorandums of some of the Officers, and a reference to the Acts of Congress, the following succinct prefatory Statement is made, to perpetuate a right understanding of the commencement, progress and failure of the Expedition under Major-General St. Clair, and as a necessary introduction to the writer's minute account of the Action upon the fourth of November, 1791.

In addition to the First United States Regiment, which, by an Act of Congress of April the thirtieth, 1790, it was provided should consist of twelve hundred and sixteen non-commissioned officers and privates,

vates, a second, to consist of nine hundred and twelve, was granted by a Law passed the third of March, 1791; authorizing at the same time the President, to cause to be enlisted at his discretion any number of men not exceeding two thousand, under the denomination of Levies, for the term of six months; and in case there should be a failure in obtaining the due Complement for the First or Second Regiment, to make up the same either of Levies or Militia,—thus providing for an army of four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers, privates and musicians.

That a part of this force was destined for the Southern States, there can be no doubt.—Small garrisons were necessary for Venango, Fort Harmar, Forts Washington, Knox and Steuben:—and the posts, necessary to preserve a communication upon our march from Fort Washington, it must have been intended, should have been garrisoned from this army also. With the residue, the General was to have marched to the site of the Miami Towns, and there established himself. There was no alternative;—*his Orders were positive.*

It was not until the third of March, as has been observed, that the Bill authorizing the raising a second regiment, Levies, etc., passed into a Law; and so unsuccessful was the Recruiting Service, and so many obstacles in the way of marching the men on to the Frontier, that upon the last of May, (the time of my arrival at Head Quarters, Fort Washington), the whole effective strength was little more than one Company and the Garrisons at the Posts before mentioned were small indeed.

By memorandums of Mr. Inspector Mentzees, it appears that upon June the thirteenth, Captain Armstrong's Company of the 1st Regiment, and Captain Kirkwood's of the 2nd, arrived at Head Quarters.

Upon the fourteenth, Captain M Company, of the 1st Regiment.

Upon the twenty second, Major Pike's Battallion of Levies from the Territory S. E. of the Ohio, not exceeding two Companies.

Upon

Upon the twenty seventh, Major Gaither, with parts of his own Maryland Battalion and Patterson's, of Jersey.

Upon the first of August, General Wilkinson marched from Head Quarters to the Indian Towns with some Kentucky mounted volunteers. General Scott did the same thing before him, and the principal effects of both these Expeditions were an enormous public expense.

August the fourteenth: such of the 1st and 2nd U. S. Regiments as had arrived, with Rhea's, Gaither's and Patterson's Levies, encamped at Ludlow's Station, upon Mill Creek, five miles advance of Cincinnati. This movement, it was expected, by abstracting the men from the debaucheries of the town, would preserve them in better health and condition for service and acquaint them in some degree with Camp duties, of which Officers as well as men were generally very ignorant. Another advantage in advancing this little Army was the opening a road towards the Miami and reconnoitering the proper position whereon to erect a Fort of Deposit.

Upon the twenty ninth, Lieutenant-Colonel Darke arrived with Beddinger's Battalion of Virginia Levies, some detachments for the Maryland and Jersey Levies, together with Beattie's and Doyle's Companies of the First U. S. Regiment.

September 5th. Beddinger's Battalion marched for Ludlow's Station.—Up to this time, the immediate command in Camp was with Major Hamtranck; General St. Clair being either stationary at Fort Washington, or in Kentucky, upon the necessary arrangements for the Campaign and to make up, if possible, the very great deficiencies of the Regular and Levy Corps by Volunteers or draughts from the Militia. At this period, or on the 4th, Lieutenant-Colonel Darke assumed the command in Camp.

Upon the 6th, Captain Bradford moved from Fort Washington with two pieces of Field Artillery etc., and upon the same day, the Troops marched from Ludlow's Station for the Miami; — the distance, about eighteen miles; — a road to be cut the whole way through considerable woods, and three days elapsed before their arrival. About the 10th,

10th, the Work, now called Fort Hamilton, was commenced: but the Troops were very indifferently supplied with Tools.

Upon the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Gibson arrived with Butler's and Clark's Battallions of Pennsylvania Levies. With these troops, as well as with Major Gaither, came a considerable number of Pack Horses and some intended for the Dragoons. Hardship and Inattention, during a long and tedious water-passage, had unfitted them for the arduous service to which they were devoted.

Upon the 10th, General Butler and the Quarter Master General arrived, with Major Hart, three Companies of the 2nd U. S. Regiment, and a Company of Riflemen, commanded by Captain Faulkner.

Upon the 11th, two other Companies of the 2nd U. S. Regiment, together with a detachment of Artillery and five Field Pieces were put in motion to join the Camp.

Upon the 18th, I accompanied General St. Clair to Camp, and remained stationary with the Army during the residue of the Campaign. His frequent Absences from the Territory, to this Period, by vesting the executive duties of the Civil Government in me, had made it necessary that my Military Services should in some degree be dispensed with.

From the 20th to the 27th, General St. Clair at Fort Washington, and the Command of the Army with Major Hamtranck. Large Fatigue Parties constantly at the Works upon the Miami. About the last of September, Captain Ford joined the Army with five Pieces of Artillery.

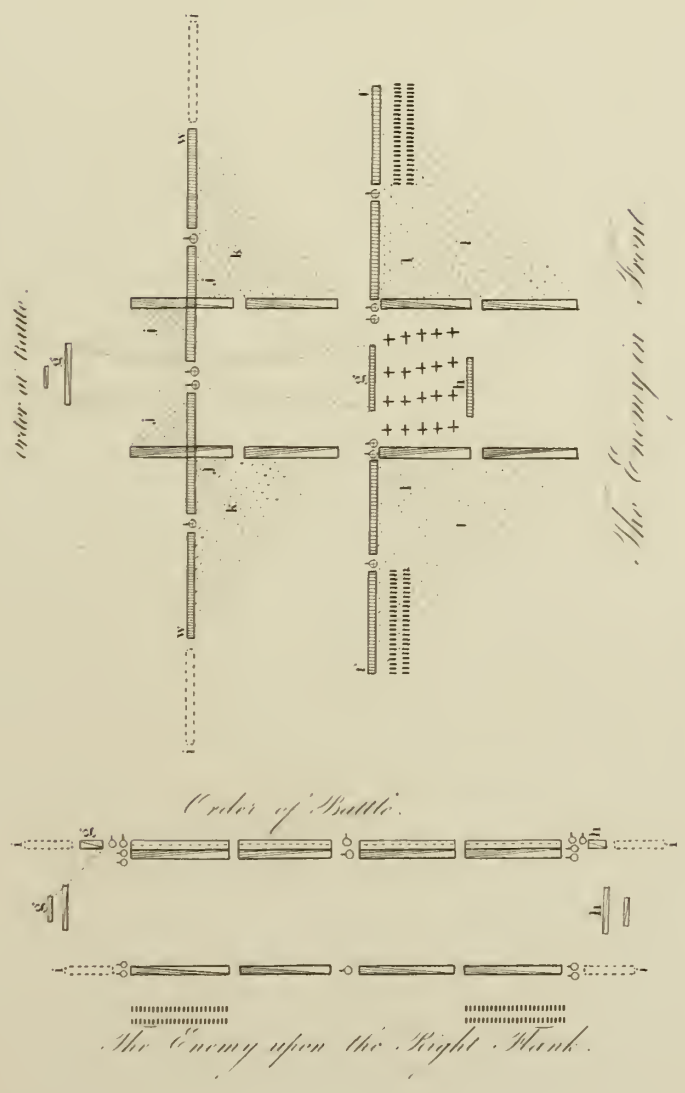
From the 1st to the 9th of October, General St. Clair absent from the Army, and the Command with General Butler. Previous to the General's leaving Camp, he was pleased to publish the Order of March, Battle and Encampment.

Upon the morning of the 4th of October, we beat the General. Some deficiencies of Pack Horses postponed the March till twelve o'clock, when the Army was put in motion by two columns from their

Order of Battle: March and Encampment of the Army of the United States under Major General Arthur. St. Clair, during the Campaign of 1791.

Winthrop, Surgeon

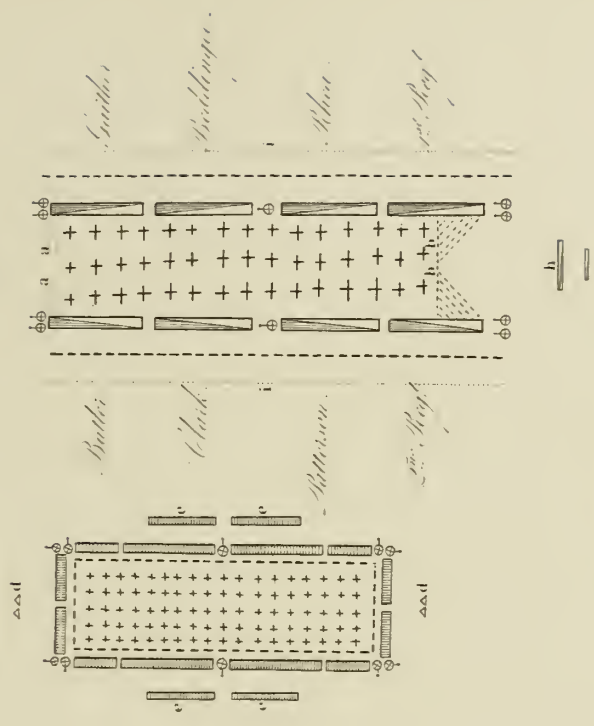
Adjutant General



Order of Battle.

The Enemy upon the Right Flank.

Encampment.



March.

EXPLANATIONS.

- s. Artillery.
- + Brigade, Pack, Horses and Cattle.
- Cavalry.
- a.a. The leading Batt^{ns} of the Column wheeling by files to form the Camp.
- b.b. The Right Wing of the rear Battalion of the right Column forming upon the Head File of that Wing by marching obliquely to the Left, and the Left Wing of the rear Battⁿ of the left Column forming upon the Head file of that Wing by marching obliquely to the Right.
- d. Camp Guards.
- e. e. Camp of the Battalion.

EXPLANATIONS.

- w. Front Line.
- f. Second Line.
- iii Cavalry.
- g. Advanced Guard.
- h. Rear Guard.
- i. Rifle Corps.
- j. The leading Batt^{ns} of each Column marching obliquely to the Right and Left to form upon their Centre Files.
- k. The succeeding Batt^{ns} in each Column marching obliquely to the Right and to the Left to form the Front Line.
- l. The 3rd and 4th Batt^{ns} in the two Columns marching obliquely to their Right and Left to form the 2nd Line.

OF FORMING THE LINE, AGREEABLY TO THE ORDERS OF THIS DAY.

The leading Wing of the leading Battalion in each Column files to the Left and to the Right; that of the Right Wing marching obliquely to the Left, and that of the Left Wing to the Right; dressing with the Centre File, and facing to the Front. The second Battalions in each Wing march obliquely to the right and Left upon the Flanks of the preceding Battalions.

FOR THE SECOND LINE. The Head Files of the third Battalion in each Column stand first; the remaining part of those two Battalions and the whole of the fourth Battalion of each Column march obliquely to the Right and Left; the Right and Left Flanks being covered by the Rifle Corps, as in the Plan; the Artillery disposed of in the First and Second Lines, and the Cavalry in the Rear of the Flank Battalions of the latter. The baggage, cattle, etc. falling in the Rear of the Second Line, to be sent off if necessary.

their Encampment at the Prairie near Fort Hamilton, crossed the Miami, (the fording of which at this time was not deep) and advanced three miles, opening two roads, about two hundred and fifty yards apart, as they marched;—the Pack Horses and Bullocks moving in the centre interval of Wood, and the Artillery in the Front, Centre and Rear of the Columns.

Upon the 5th, General Butler so far changed the Disposition prescribed by the Commanding General as to advance the Artillery by a single broad cut Road of Twelve Feet. Five Pieces in front, and dressing with the heads of Columns marching by single files about one hundred yards on right and left. The Ammunition and Baggage Horses following immediately this Artillery, and the five additional Pieces bringing up the Rear, covered by the Rear Guards, etcetera; the Bullocks between the Road and the Columns. The woods were everywhere so compact as made the opening of a road extremely tedious. Bridges were frequently to be thrown over streams and ravines, and the Infantry, though marching by single files, were necessitated to cut their way at every step. Our progress was consequently slow, and we made only a distance of miles.

Upon the 6th, we advanced in the same order, and gained miles.

The March of the 7th and succeeding days to the Defeat and Return of the Army to Fort Washington, with a description of the Country we passed over and a particular Account of the Action upon the 4th of November, 1791, is entered in this Diary.

Upon the 10th of October, Colonel Oldham joined the Army with upwards of three hundred Kentucky militia. Upon paper, we now stood respectable in numbers: the accompanying Report of the morning immediately preceding our Defeat will show the Effectives. The absence of the 1st Regiment and Desertions from the Militia had very much reduced us: with the residue there was too generally wanting

the essential stamina of Soldiers. Picked up and recruited from the offscourings of large Towns and Cities;—enervated by Idleness, Debaucheries and every species of Vice, it was impossible they could have been made competent to the arduous duties of Indian Warfare. An extraordinary aversion to Service was also conspicuous amongst them and demonstrated by the most repeated Desertions, in many instances to the very Foe we were to combat. The late Period at which they had been brought into the Field left no leisure or opportunity to attempt to discipline them. They were moreover, badly cloathed, badly paid and badly fed.

Their Ammunition, powder particularly, was, with sufficient reason, I apprehend, supposed to be of very inferior quality, although some experiments since the Campaign have tended to confirm another Opinion. That our magazines, however, contained some very bad powder, sent out for the use of the Army, and that this powder, in a number of instances, was served out, I am full well convinced. Captain Faulkner and Major Clarke have both made complaints to me upon this subject, and Major Ferguson has very frequently represented to me that the Military Stores and Arms were sent on in most infamous order.

The various arrangements in the different Departments resting with the Commanding General almost altogether, he was worn down by the Fatigues before the Commencement of the Campaign. Early in May, he arrived at Fort Washington, and before the Army took the Field was compelled to make three Journeys into Kentucky. It was not until the 10th of September, as has been observed, that the Quarter Master General joined the Army: all his arduous duties were therefore with the General to that date. Great delinquencies continued with the Contractor, even to the Defeat of the Army, and were, beyond a doubt, one amongst the many primary causes of that misfortune. To correct, remedy or avert, was the province of the General, and helped to accumulate his difficulties.

Friday,

Friday, the 7th of October, 1791. Fair weather and strong S. W. wind all day. Moved at ten o'clock this morning and marched four and a half miles; thirty seven and a half from Fort Washington by a direct course, but the necessity of deviation, to avoid Fallen Timber and for the advantage of ascending and descending Hills, sometimes considerably lengthens the way. The Country we have passed over this day has been rougher than in any of the preceding Marches, but good Wheat-land with much and various sized Timber; many Springs and small Runs of Water; Lime, and some hard Sand Stone.

Saturday, the 8th October. Fair and pleasant weather with moderate S. W. wind.

The Army moved at ten o'clock, and made a march of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles;—distance from Fort Washington, $44\frac{1}{2}$. The Country level or small Irregularities only, and Upland of good soil and well watered by small Runs. A stream of twenty feet meanders in the Line of March, which, of course, was several times crossed by the Troops, and upon the banks of which is very rich Land. The Flank Guards fired unsuccessfully upon an Indian this day;—the first we have seen upon our March.

Sunday the 9th of October. Fair and pleasant weather with moderate S. W. wind.

The Army moved at ten o'clock, distance four miles, over gently swelling Lands with several small streams: good soil, and but little underbrush: timbered with large Oak, Hickory, Ash, Walnut, Sugar-tree and a considerable proportion of Beech, which seems indeed to abound in Lands of every description in this country.

Monday, October 10th. Fair weather and moderate S. W. wind.

Moved at eight o'clock this morning;—our March eight miles, and fifty six miles from Fort Washington. The country level, of good soil and open woods, composed of great variety of Timber, with many small Runs of Water and two Streams of fifteen feet, with some large Sand

Sand Stone. We passed an old Indian Camp yesterday and several to-day, and have observed some fresh Tracks.

Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, from Kentucky, with nearly three hundred Militia, joined the Army.

Tuesday, the 11th of October. Fair weather and light S. W. wind.

In motion this morning at eight o'clock; distance, six and a quarter miles, and sixty two and a quarter from Fort Washington. The country rich, level and well watered, though not so plentifully as in the preceding Marches; the Woods open and Timber good. This day, at one o'clock, we were halted by a swamp or sunken "Prairie" in our Front, which appears extensive to right and left. One mile in the rear of this is a stream of six feet, gliding gently to the Westward.

Wednesday, October 12th. Fair weather and light North wind. Last evening and this morning, the country was reconnoitered to the right and left, down the Swamp. Upon the left and west, it was crossed by a single Horseman and some Foot, though with considerable difficulty, the horse sinking to his belly and the distance across being between two and three hundred yards. A mile or two more westerly, this party came into a large, well-beaten Path, running North and South. Upon the right, an old Indian Path was discovered, through which the Army marched, being put in motion at twelve o'clock. Our distance, five miles, and sixty seven and a half from Fort Washington. The given course till this day has been N. 17° West, but in the last five miles we have moved 30° E. of N., in order to clear the Defile mentioned. The country has been of open Woods and young Timber, with several small Runs from the Swamp, upon which the soil is rich, but generally, our Way being upon a gentle Ridge, the quality of the land is inferior to any we have before passed over. We have discovered many Indian Tracks this day, with old and new Camps of Warriors and Hunters, and had almost surprised some of them. Our parties were near enough to shoot down a single Indian and seize upon his gun, although he was carried
off

off or concealed near his Camp, in which a considerable quantity of fresh Peltry was found, and some blankets, and near it four or five horses were taken. Our Encampment this evening is in a pretty Bottom of good land, with a gentle stream of ten feet passing through it, and from appearance, almost at the head of the Swamp.

Thursday, October 13th. Light northerly wind and fair weather all day. Ice made in shallow vessels one twentieth of an inch thick last night.

The Army has advanced one mile this day, and are sixty eight and a half from Fort Washington. Encamped in two lines facing to the front and rear, the militia in the rear of the whole, and the Horse upon the Flanks, covered by Faulkner's Company of Riflemen. The Artillery disposed in the first and second Line, in the intervals between the battallions:— the whole occupying (from some unevenesses in the ground) a length of more than one thousand yards. In the distance from our last Encampment, we have passed a ridge of indifferent soil. On this ground we are to halt for some days, to erect a small Fort of Deposit.

Friday, the 14th of October. Heavy rain for two hours before daylight; cloudy until ten o'clock, with moderate west wind; the residue fair and wind strong.

Notwithstanding that the Orders of the General are very pointed against Firing, and a penalty of one hundred lashes is directed to be inflicted for the crime, the Militia and the Levies are every day guilty of it, and more particularly at the present Encampment. Game, it is true, is very plenty and presents a strong temptation, but the consequences are extremely injurious to the Service, and tend, amongst other improprieties, to destroy all order in the Army.

Two hundred men, properly officered, have been this day on duty in clearing the face of the ground for a Fort, and laying the foundation. It is to be a Square Work, with one-hundred-and-fourteen-foot sides, with four small Bastions: to be built of rough logs, layed horizontally,

zontally, and the Barracs and Store Rooms to compose the Curtains. The situation is a pretty, rising ground, terminating in gentle and low descents to east and west, to a Prairie.—A continuation of swelling grounds to the North for a considerable distance, and a small Prairie near, on the South, with a stream of eight feet in that direction and a good Spring at less than thirty yards distance.

The provision of Tools for this Work, Fort Hamilton on the Miami, and the great services for which they must be wanted,—has been scanty in the extreme. Eighty axes only can be furnished by the Quarter Master, and of these, thirteen are borrowed from the Troops, who are but ill supplied for this season of the year. Besides the axes, are one Saw and one Frow. Of spades and mattocks we have sufficient.

Saturday, October the 15th. Rain the latter part of last night and all this day, with moderate N. E. wind.

The Fatigue Party of two hundred men at work upon the fort, and to be continued till the business is completed. A detachment, ordered out to surprise an Indian Camp discovered by one of the Militia yesterday five miles distant, returned without being able to find it. Information received from Fort Washington, this day, of the arrival of twenty Chicasaw Indians there, upon their way to Congress.

Sunday, October the 16th. Rain all last night and until eleven o'clock this day, with N. E. wind: residue fair and mild, with moderate wind from the South West.

Monday, October the 17th. Rain the latter part of last night and this afternoon, with cloudy weather and moderate N. W. wind all day.

The Army were served with all the Flour in the Magazines this day, amounting to one day's rations only; and of Liquor, there is but sufficient for to-morrow's issue. With the best disciplined troops, the General would at this season have much to apprehend. The roads are becoming very bad, and forage almost exhausted. The resources
of

of the Contractor are so limited that we cannot look forward to any considerable supply of rations. The Militia discontented, and under no subordination and the time of service for the Levies very near expiring. — Melancholy considerations, these, to the whole Army; but distressing beyond measure must they be to the Commanding General, whose reputation is to be hazarded upon events extremely precarious.

Two soldiers of the Artillery and one of the First United States Regiment were apprehended this afternoon, attempting to desert to the Enemy.

Tuesday, October the 18th. Rain almost all last night, with some hail; the morning cloudy, and faint Sun at Noon, with moderate N. W. wind all day.

A Militia-man was shot through the thigh yesterday by an Indian, five miles from our Camp, but was protected by a Companion who advanced to his assistance, and after lying concealed all night in the bushes, he was this day brought in. Several Indians have been discovered in our vicinity, and five or six men are missing, but whether by desertion, or the enemy, is uncertain. About six thousand weight of flour was brought to Camp this Evening, which, with two hundred and forty bullocks of three hundred weight each, is our whole stock of provisions; and the daily issues, including for women and retainers amounts to nearly twenty seven hundred rations *per diem*.

Wednesday, October the 19th. Moderate Northerly wind and cloudy weather all day, except two hours of sun at noon.

Provisions have become so scarce, and the means of transportation to our Camp so uncertain, that the General has directed nearly three hundred Baggage-horses, in addition to fifty of the Contractor's, to Fort Hamilton, to bring on flour; and ordered that the Officers and others entitled to extra rations shall be limited to a single one, and the troops are put to half allowance of bread.

Thursday, October 20th. The morning pleasant, with sunshine;
strong

strong N. E. wind and cloudy during the day: moderate and N. W. wind in the evening, clouds dispersing and appearance of fine weather.

No appearance of Indians for a day or two last past near our Camp and some of the soldiers who were supposed to have been taken by them are come in, after having been lost in the woods.

Discontent and murmuring prevails in the Militia-Camp at being put to half-allowance of flour notwithstanding they are served with beef for the deficiency, and they talk loudly of returning home.

Upon an Order for an *Escorte* to some provisions from Fort Hamilton this day, the commanding officer assured the General that his men could not be depended on, for they would indisputably all desert; —and Captain Faulkner's Company of Riflemen was put upon this duty, although their services are essential in Camp. The Militia have never been enrolled in the general Roster for duty, because it has been deemed *inexpedient*, and, indeed, they have rendered no service whatever; but produce, by their example and general conduct, much disorder and irregularity amongst the soldiery.

Friday, October the 21st.—Fair weather and moderate northerly wind till noon: residue cloudy, with a small flight of snow and strong wind.

The Troops have this evening been served with one quarter of a ration of flour for the morrow and the whole Stock is now expended. Dependence upon the Contractor, even while the Army halts, has become precarious indeed, and the General has ordered the Quarter Master to Fort Washington for the purpose of ascertaining precisely the ultimate resources. In case the Contractor should find himself inadequate to our supplies, Mr. Hodgedon is directed to make every exertion, either jointly with him, or independently, to effect the desired purpose.

Ice made last night in small vessels around our Tents half an inch in thickness. By a single observation of Major Ferguson the Latitude of the Fort erecting here is found to be $40^{\circ}-4'-22''$.

Fair weather and moderate N. W. wind all this Saturday the 22nd
of

of October and 16000 pounds of Flour has been brought to Camp in the course of the day under an Escorte of sixty Militia, which augments the Corps to upwards of three hundred and forty only, as a dozen men deserted from them last night. The Fatigue for the Fort has been reduced to sixty men this day, and one Captain, one Subaltern, the sick and those unable to march are ordered to remain as a Garrison to the Work. The Army to hold itself in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

Sunday, October the 23rd.—Fair weather and light N. W. wind. The Fort, which in compliment to the Secretary of State has been called Jefferson, being almost completed, Captain Shalor, with nearly ninety men (Invalids) took possession of it this morning. Two pieces of artillery are to be left for the defence of the place, and the Army, being now without horses, is under the necessity of depositing all its baggage: the military and ordnance stores must also for the present remain here; and tents, with Entrenching tools, only carried forward. These will be transported in four four-ox-teams, which, upon all occasions, we have found very useful: indeed, they seem better, for a thousand obvious reasons, than packhorses to attend the movements of a large Army. A few horses, indeed, for pushing forward light pieces of Artillery, may be necessary, but the great burden of transportation I am more than ever persuaded, from attentive observation, should rest upon Oxen.

The General has been under the necessity of executing three Soldiers to day; — one of them for shooting a brother soldier and threatening the life of an Officer, and two for desertion. Those last mentioned seem rather unfortunately than extremely criminal; — though it appears that their intention was to have robbed their Officers and have gone to the Enemy, by the Information of a third person, whose general character has been extremely infamous, and who is believed by the immediate officers of the condemned to have been the author of the plan. Yet he made oath to a Court Martial that he was seduced by them into it, and escaped with his life, being sentenced to

receive one hundred lashes at five different times. The General's humanity is well known, but Desertions have become so prevalent as to be very alarming, and examples (in terrorem) are necessary. It seems indeed to be the opinion of some Officers of experience that pardon to deserters under almost any circumstances encourages very much the crime, and is a mistaken clemency, producing, in a course of service, more Capital Punishments than would probably be necessary if the Troops were once assured that Death must be the inevitable consequence of abandoning their Colours.

Monday, October the 24th. — Calm and cloudy, with mild weather; some small rain towards evening.

The Army moved this morning at nine o'clock, marching by the Indian Path nearly a north course over rich, level grounds of fine young White Oak, Walnut, Hickory and Ash Timber, with some sand stone, and encamped (after a march of five and a half miles, and seventy four from Fort Washington) upon high ground with open woods at the bank of a handsome stream of forty feet running east, and which, it is supposed, discharges itself into the Great Miami below Tawintwa. We have passed no water in this day's march, though there is no doubt but we might have found it in a short distance either to the right or left. Many new and old camps have been observed near our Route and they are very plenty about this Encampment. The ashes at some of them were warm upon our arrival; and we are probably now upon the best hunting-grounds of the Indians.

The Army is disposed of in two lines with the Artillery and Cavalry upon the Right and Left, and the militia in the Rear and towards the Left Flank of the Army, about half a mile distant, near a considerable wet Prairie.

Tuesday, October the 25th. — Rain almost all the last night and small showers until 4 P. M. with light and variable wind: the residue fair, and moderate wind from the North West.

A detachment of fifty men from the Militia with the Deputy Surveyor

veyor have marched this morning to explore the country for twenty miles to the North West, and a party of twenty as an Escorte for two days to some Return Horses, on their way to Fort Hamilton.

The Army halts from the impossibility of being supplied with beef or flour for any forward movement at present. By despatches received this day it appears that no Magazines are established at Fort Hamilton, and that our horses sent back must proceed of course to Cincinnati, and even there supplies are precarious. So that any further operations have become doubtful. Small delays alone will render it impracticable for the General to advance, as the time of service for some of the Levies is nearly up, and their example of going off, if followed by the Militia, will render our force contemptible indeed.

Wednesday, October the 26th. — Damp, cloudy day and light N. W. wind. The Militia were moved across the Creek this day upon a pretty, defensible piece of ground, half a mile in advance.

The Country to the North West for nineteen miles has been found by the Deputy Surveyor to be principally Upland, timbered with young White Oak and Hickory. A large beaten path running North and South was crossed by him about ten miles from Camp and his party had nearly surprised a Camp of five Indians in that distance, the rear of whom were fired upon but escaped into a small Swamp and made off, leaving their blankets and some peltry behind them.

Parties of observation have been twelve miles upon an East course, and found the Stream upon which we are encamped full eighty feet wide: in about three miles it makes a sudden turn to the N. W. but in a short distance flows in an opposite direction.

One of the Militia is supposed to have fallen into the hands of the Savages the last evening, as he was observed by two of his companions who were out a hunting to be pursued by them.

Thursday, October the 27th. Cloudy, and light North wind, with damp weather all day.

The twenty Chickasaw Indians mentioned to have been at Fort
Washington

Washington arrived in Camp this day. Piamingo, who is now their King, with Colbert and some other characters of distinction, are among the number. These people have the most inveterate animosity to all the Indian Tribes North West of the Ohio, but most particularly to the Kickapoos, and have been at war with the whole of them from time immemorial. We have with us also one of the Oubashe Indians, who was upon a visit to his friends in captivity with us, and who offered his services to the General.

I have been expecting that this poor fellow, who is indisposed, would be under some dreadful apprehensions from these guests, as every species of cruelty is mutually practised by their nations, but he has demeaned himself very much like a man upon the occasion, and they have politely condescended to take him by the hand, as our Friend.

This is the day of issuing provisions to the Troops and the Contractor has it not in his power to serve them with more than a single ration of flour, but we expect such a supply upon the morrow as will enable us to move forward for a few marches. Beyond that, our prospects are gloomy;—no magazines established, and even an uncertainty of a supply at Fort Washington, with the difficulties of transportation every day increasing by the Season and to become still greater, as we add to our distance, may make events fatal to the whole Army. But the General is compelled to move on, as the only chance of continuing our little army. Thirteen men of the Virginia Troops have insisted upon their discharges this day; almost the whole Battallion will speedily follow their example; and in a short time, the period of Inlistments with the other Battallions will begin to expire. So that the only prospect of effecting the purpose of the Campaign is by immediately marching the Army so far into the Enemy's country that they may be afraid to return in such detachments as shall from time to time be entitled to claim their discharges.

Friday, October the 28th.—The morning and until twelve o'clock cloudy: residue fair with light North West wind all day.

We

We had a soldier killed and scalped this morning three miles from camp. He was hunting with another man, who received a shot in his body, but had strength enough to run half a mile and conceal himself in the bushes till night when he joined the Army, and, most probably, will die of his wound.

About ten thousand weight of flour was brought to Camp this evening.

Saturday, October the 29th. Fair weather and pleasant, with light North West wind.

The Chicasaw Indians, with an Officer and five privates, are gone out for a short War Excursion. There appears some little discontent in the party, but resting principally with Piamingo and Colbert, the former of whom came out from his Nation expressly to go to Congress, and Colbert for hostility, and therefore, although Piamingo has altered his intention, yet the other insists he cannot yield to him in the field. The division of them might put it out of their power to meet any War Parties of Indians upon equal terms, and from this consideration the Chief voluntarily follows Colbert as his leader. This man has latterly had one brother killed, and another wounded, by the Western Indians.

Sunday, October the 30th. Strong South wind all last night and this day, with warm weather.

A Fatigue Party of one hundred and thirty non-commissioned officers and privates were detached yesterday morning to open a road forward, under cover of two hundred militia. They were to work until three o'clock this day, and then return to the Army. This has been the usual strength of our Fatigues for this purpose, but they have heretofore been covered by the piquets, and never preceded the Army more than three or four hours.

The Army was put in motion this morning at Nine o'clock, and have marched seven miles over a level country, with Oak, Hickory, Maple, Buck-eye and some Beech, and have encamped upon a small

run of poor water, near the commencement of a very brushy piece of land, eighty one miles from Fort Washington. One Spring and two or three Runs of Water, issuing from low land or stagnant marshes, and of bad quality, have laid in our route.

Monday, October the 31st — A strong gale the last night from W. N. W., and brisk wind from the same quarter, with fair weather, all day.

The impossibility of getting forward with all the baggage of the Army, and the expectation of flour, has determined the General to halt this day. Some military stores that were brought on to the last Encampment from Fort Jefferson, together with baggage which the Officers took the liberty of bringing up, delayed our last movement very much, and so overloaded the waggons and the few pack-horses of the troops, that in many instances it was found necessary to discharge them in part upon the road, whereby some Corps were deprived of their Tents.

Sixty of the Militia have deserted in a body this day, and it has become probable that a considerable part (and perhaps the whole) of the residue may speedily follow. They murmur at the Allowance of Provision, and complain that they are not sufficiently clothed for the Service at this Season. The First U. S. Regiment is detached upon this occasion: they are to move back beyond Fort Jefferson, and prevent our provisions which may be upon the way from being rifled by these deserters, and to apprehend them, if it be practicable. This movement may have a further good effect upon the Militia that are in Camp, and be the means of keeping them to their duty: but however necessary it may be, I have to regret that we are hereby deprived for a time of a corps of three hundred effective men (effective, from the experience of the Officers, and the opportunities they have had for discipline) which must be estimated as the best in Service.

Captain Powers, of the Levies, has been ordered in advance to-day with fifty men, to reconnoitre the country.

Tuesday,

Tuesday, November the 1st — Cloudy and moderate Weather, with light Southerly winds all day.

Thirty two thousand weight of flour arrived in Camp the last evening, under escort of Faulkner's Company of Riflemen. The Army is ordered to halt this day—to give the General time, I imagine, to make up despatches for the War Office, as no other cause is obvious. It is very true that we have not the means of transporting all the Tents and Entrenching Tools without dismounting some of the Cavalry, but the same objections will remain for the morrow.

Forty return horses left the Camp this afternoon for Fort Hamilton, under the Escorte of a Subaltern and fourteen men of the Second U. S. Regiment, who are to give them protection to within one day's March of the Fort, and rejoin the Army.

Wednesday, November the 2nd. Light Westerly wind, with cloudy, cold weather all day, and some small rain and snow from 3 to 4 o'clock, P. M.

The Army in motion at nine this morning, and made a march of eight miles, which increases our whole distance from Fort Washington to eighty nine miles.

The first five miles, and to a Creek of almost still water or gently running to the East, is generally very low, level and wet land, with large Oak, Ash and Hickory Timber. The residue is also level and moist, and principally of Beech Timber. The whole distance must be rendered almost impassable in wet weather. Upon the left, but more particularly upon the right, are very extensive swamps. The old Indian Path has been our guide through them, deviating from it however, occasionally, from a half to a whole mile, in order to shorten the Road, which has made our course about N. 30° West.

The Encampment is on tolerably good ground, with a small Limestone Run of water and some bottom land in front, in two Lines, E. N. E. and W. S. W., and the Artillery equally disposed in the Centre of the first and second Line.

One of our small Commands fell upon an Indian Camp yesterday
and

and took five horses with a gun and some peltry, but according to general practice, suffered all the Indians to escape them.

We are informed that one of our Hunters has lately been killed near Fort Hamilton.

Thursday, November the 3^d — Light N. E. wind last night and this day, with a small flight of snow, but not enough to cover the ground.

The Army has marched eight miles this day, and our distance from Fort Washington is ninety seven by the Line which the Surveyor has run, the road not very materially deviating therefrom: its breadth is almost all the way sufficient for two carriages.

In the first three miles of this morning, we passed small, low Prairies, (extensive to the right and left) and wet, sunken grounds of woodland, timbered with Oak, Ash and Hickory. The residue, of gentle, rising grounds, timbered principally with Beech, but some Oak and Hickory: and small Lime-stone Runs, though not abounding with water at this time.

Our Encampment is on a very handsome piece of rising ground, with a stream of forty feet in front running to the West. The Army in two lines, and four pieces of Artillery in the centre of each; Faulkner's Company of Riflemen upon the right flank with one troop of Horse, and a troop of Horse also upon the left. The Militia across the stream (which is supposed to be the St. Mary, emptying itself into the Miami of the Lakes) and over a rich bottom of three hundred yards, upon a high extensive fine Flat of open woods. Here are an immense number of old and new Indian Camps, and it appears to have been a place of their general resort. About fifteen of them, Horse and Foot, quitted this ground near the time we arrived upon it, as was discovered by their tracks in the banks of the Stream. Colonel Oldham, who has been long conversant with Indian affairs, supposes it a party of observation, and the first that has been about us since he joined the Army; imagining all the others that have been noticed mere hunters.

Friday,

Friday, November the 4th, 1791. Moderate N. W. wind, serene atmosphere and unclouded sky; — but the fortunes of this day have been as the cruellest tempest to the interests of the Country and this Army, and will blacken a full page in the future annals of America.

The Troops have all been defeated, and though it is impossible at this time to ascertain our loss, yet there can be no manner of doubt that more than one half of the Army are either killed or wounded.

The whole amount of our private baggage, with the artillery, military stores, provisions and horses, have fallen into the hands of the Enemy, and the shattered remains of our forces are coming into Fort Jefferson this evening, at seven o'clock, after the precipitate flight of twenty nine miles since nine o'clock in the morning. The detail of this misfortune shall be made out as soon as I am furnished with Returns from the different Corps in action.

Saturday, November the 5th. Fair weather and fresh North West wind all day.

Upon a consultation last night with the Field-Officers, the General thought proper to move the Army at ten o'clock P. M. It appeared that Fort Jefferson was destitute of provision, that flour was near at hand and that there was no prospect of refreshing the Troops but from that source. The Garrison might be suddenly invested, and, of course, it became a matter of the utmost consequence to throw in supplies as soon as possible. We moved about seven miles during the night, and were obliged to halt from the severe fatigues the Troops had undergone. At daylight we resumed our march, and at eight o'clock we met a convoy of flour, and soon after, a drove of cattle. Two rounds of the former, per man, was served out and the

residue, about eighty five hundred pounds, and the Cattle, were immediately sent back for the Garrison and Wounded, under an Escorte of fifty men from the First Regiment. We continued our march all day and for a couple of hours in the night, which brought the Advance to within thirteen miles from Fort Hamilton, but the men are very much dispersed, and the disorder consequent upon a defeat was perhaps never more conspicuous.

Sunday, November the 6th. Fair weather and light Southerly wind.

Arrived at Fort Hamilton at nine o'clock this morning. The First Regiment got in generally by evening, and the lame and wounded of the Army have been dropping in singly and by small parties all day. Some of them, and of the Militia more particularly, are pushing on to Fort Washington, notwithstanding Orders to the contrary. Indeed, very little attention is paid by them to any regulation whatever. The Officers appear to have lost almost the shadow of command, and there is scarcely a hope of reducing them to system and obedience short of the Fort. Such are the effects of our ignominious Flight—for so it must be deemed from the circumstance alone of the men's throwing away their arms after they quitted the Field of Action, and which was very general in every Corps that was engaged.

Monday, November the 7th. Fair weather and light Southerly wind all day.

The Garrison at Fort Hamilton relieved this day by Captain Armstrong and fifty men of the First United States Regiment. The wounded and stragglers of the Army are still coming in, and probably will be, for a number of days. At twelve o'clock, the First Regiment, Militia, and such of the other Corps as have arrived, were put in motion for Fort Washington, and marched twelve miles before night.

Tuesday, November the 8th. Showery and calm before daylight and till noon; residue cloudy.

In motion at daylight, and arrived at Fort Washington at twelve o'clock. The Troops were immediately encamped in its vicinity upon

upon Deer Creek, and every means possible used to make them comfortable; but all the Camp Equipage being lost in the late Action, they are destitute indeed of common necessaries — even Axes, they have not.

The Officers finding houses to cover themselves, quit their men; and the consequences are very great disorder.

Wednesday, November the 9th. Rainy morning and until twelve o'clock; the residue fair, with moderate S. W. wind.

Every house in this town is filled with drunken soldiers and there seems one continued scene of confusion. The General's indisposition prevents much of his own attention to the Army at this time: he has been suffering under a most painful fit of the Gout since the 23rd ultimo, and was not able to mount his horse on the morning of the Action without assistance. But no efforts have been wanting to prevent abuses and disorder, as well as to afford comfort and convenience to the Soldiers and to obtain Hospitals and all proper provisions for the wounded, whose situation is truly distressing at this time.

Thursday, November the 10th. Heavy showers of rain with much thunder, before day; light and wet weather until nine o'clock; the residue of this day fair weather, with a strong West wind.

A detachment of fifty men as an Escorte to some provisions has marched for Fort Jefferson this day.

Friday, November the 11th. Fair and cold weather, with moderate N. W. wind.

Major Zeigler, with upwards of one hundred men of the First United States Regiment, marched this day as a reinforcement to the Escorte for Fort Jefferson.

Piamingo, Colbert and the other Chickasaws, with the white people mentioned to have gone out from our Camp of the 29th ultimo, have returned with five scalps, having been twenty miles beyond the Miami Towns on the road to Detroit. Here they fell in with an Indian, who, mistaking them for friends, gave so vaunting an account of the late unfortunate Action and Defeat, that before he had completed

pleted his narrative they shot him through the body. He told them that they had but seven hundred warriors engaged, and that his "own arm was quite weary with tomahawking."

Saturday, November the 12th. Cloudy, cold morning, with appearances of snow; the day fair and moderate West wind.

Sunday, November the 13th. Cloudy and moderate weather, with light Southerly wind.

Monday, November the 14th. Very heavy rain from three o'clock this morning and through the day, with strong South wind.

Twenty more Chickasaws have arrived under the Elder Colbert, who appears a clever, intelligent fellow, and had intended to have joined the Army.

Tuesday, November the 15th. Snow the latter part of last night and in small flights during the day, with moderate West wind and mild weather.

Wednesday, November the 16th. Overcast and calm all day.

The last of Beddinger's Battallion of Levies discharged.

Thursday, November the 17th. Calm, fair and warm weather, all day. The whole country is just whitened by a small snow last night.

Friday, November the 18th. Fair weather, and calm.

Piamingo had his Audience of Leave from the General this day, and condoled with him upon the misfortunes of the Campaign. He took occasion to observe that the Armies of Britain had been formerly opposed to his Nation, and that the Officers were at first distinguishable among the soldiery, as among our Troops, by cocked hats, plumes, etc., and were soon killed—whereupon confusion ensued and the men fell easy victims of their prey. But grown wiser by experience, they dressed their forces all alike and became victorious. He recommended strongly to the General to fight the Indians in their own way from behind logs and trees, and be continually changing the ground in time of action. This is their manner, and they seldom fire twice from under the same cover, but, as soon as they have discharged their

their pieces from behind one tree, shift themselves to another; so that it is almost impossible to find them out, or to know whither to direct your fire.

Saturday, November the 19th. Fair and pleasant weather, with light S. W. wind.

By intelligence from Fort Jefferson, we are informed that the first Escorte with provisions had safely arrived, that the wounded and missing of the Army had got in there in considerable numbers and had exhausted all the supplies that were forwarded upon the 5th, and the last of them reduced to the necessity of receiving horse-flesh and green hides for their support: but we know this state of affairs cannot have existed long, as Major Zeigler must have arrived with ample stores before this time.

Lieutenant Dennie, Aide de Camp to the General, was despatched this evening for Philadelphia by the way of the Ohio River, with the particulars of the Action and Losses upon the 4th, and the General himself proposes soon to follow.

A NARRATIVE OF THE UNFORTUNATE AFFAIR OF FRIDAY, WITH THE DISPOSITION OF THE ARMY, &CA. FOLLOWS.

UPON the Thursday evening of November the third, at four o'clock, the Army, having marched eight miles, and ninety seven from Fort Washington, and being by estimation about twenty miles from the Miami Towns,—were immediately encamped in two lines on a small rising ground descending gradually in front to a stream of fifty feet, fordable at this time, and which is supposed to empty itself into the Miami of Lake Erie.

Patterson's, Clarke's and Butler's Battallions composed the first line: Patterson on the Right, and four pieces of artillery upon the right of Butler.

The Second United States Regiment, with Gaither's and Beddinger's Battallions, formed the rear line; Beddinger on the Right (in a rear face) and four pieces of artillery upon the Left of his Battallion. One troop of horse commanded by Captain Truman, and a Company of Riflemen under Captain Faulkner, were encamped upon the Right Flank, and occupied a front of about seventy yards, which was the whole distance between the lines, the length of them being nearly four hundred, the rear somewhat more and the front line somewhat less. Snowden's troop of horse was posted on the Left.

The Encampment, very defensible against regular troops, was found on experience to be feeble to an Indian attack. Descending, as has been observed, to the front, though in some places the stream was more than a hundred yards distant, yet in others, it approached
within

within twenty five: And immediately over it was a close wood, with much underbrush and fallen timber. Upon the Left also were many old logs, and an unfortunate Ravine. From various other parts of our Encampment was excellent Cover for Indian-fighting; and from the Rear and Flanks of the Position the whole grounds were descending, in some places very irregularly and upon the Right and in advance of the Left of the 2nd U. S. Regiment, to small swamps. This deprived us of proper distance in length, and between the lines;—which inconvenience we felt as a very great misfortune in Action, as it compelled the Troops to too close order, and gave effect to the Enemy's fire quite across our Encampment. •

A Camp-Guard of a Captain, Subaltern and fifty-four men;—one Piquet of a Captain and thirty men;—and four Flank-Guards of one Subaltern Officer and fifteen privates each—posted from about one hundred to a hundred and fifty yards from our Camp, according to the nature of the ground,—formed a chain of Sentinels around the Camp, at the distance of fifty paces apart, and constituted the principal security against a surprise. A Piquet of one Captain and thirty men was also posted immediately on the road the Army had marched, in front of and two hundred and fifty yards from Beddinger's Battalion—the whole as delineated in the annexed plan.

The Militia were advanced across a piece of Bottom Land, and possessed a fine high Flat, and open Wood, three hundred yards from the stream before mentioned, and mounting two small Piquets from their Right and Left one hundred and fifty yards in front, for the security of their Camp. At their arrival upon this ground very recent tracks of fifteen horse and footmen were discovered, and Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, their Commanding Officer, seemed to be convinced that this was a party of observation.

He was directed to make two detachments that evening, and to send out three or four active, enterprizing officers, with twenty men each, by daylight the next morning, to explore the country and acquire

quire information of the Enemy. Although the Colonel seemed fully impressed with the necessity of these measures and was also Soldier enough to pay implicit obedience to orders, yet his command was of a very different complexion, and there is no manner of doubt that upon any order disagreeable and repugnant to their caprice, they would have faced to the right about:— And of this disposition, we had the fullest testimony from Colonel Oldham's evidence and the conduct of the men. Those detachments were never made, the Militia complaining of being too much fatigued for the purpose, in the evening and the Attack commencing at an early hour in the morning — though not so soon but that they might have gone out and done us most essential service by discovering the movements of the Enemy. For I was in their Camp after the Troops had been under arms and dismissed, and long enough to express my surprise to Colonel Oldham that these parties had not been sent out, and to receive assurance that they should instantly be attended to.

The Militia were not enrolled for any of the common duties of Camp, and the only services demanded of them has been for small Escortes and the usual purposes of reconnoitering, for which, being Woodsmen, they seemed better calculated than any other part of the Army. But it was not often that they could be commanded, even in this way, though, except in this present instance, their refusal was always signified and an opportunity given to perform such services by Detail from the Line.

Captain Stough of the Levies, with a detachment of upwards of twenty men (volunteers) was ordered in advance during the evening, to come in by a detour upon the Indian Path at the distance of a couple of miles, — for the purpose of intercepting any small parties of Indians that might be returning from stealing our horses. For we were under the necessity of either turning them out to feed or suffering them to starve, and there was no doubt but that some of them must be taken away. This detachment soon found itself surrounded

rounded by the Enemy, and, after exchanging a few shot, escaped under cover of the night and returned to Camp about twelve o'clock. But no Report was made to Head-Quarters, though the Commanding Officer assures me he waited on General Butler and Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, and requested them to communicate that he had fallen in with very great numbers of Indians.

In the course of the night, about fifty shot were fired; principally by our own sentinels, sometimes, no doubt, at the Enemy, but oftener, probably, without any object whatever. This, however, as it exceeded much our *usual practice*, induced the General in addition to his Orders for the men to be prepared at all times for immediate service, to direct that the Troops should lay upon their Arms with all their Accoutrements on. And upon the morning of the 4th, they were turned out somewhat earlier than common, and continued upon the Parade until objects could be distinctly seen at the distance of at least three hundred yards.

In the common order of duty, the Troops had been paraded every morning ten minutes before daylight, and continued under arms till near sunrise, but for the purpose of collecting the horses which were to be sent back to Fort Jefferson for ammunition and stores, and to refresh the men who were to be put generally on duty in erecting some Works of Deposit at this place, they were dismissed at an earlier hour than usual. It was in this opportunity that I visited the Militia Camp and was informed that the Parties to have been ordered out had been altogether neglected. Colonel Oldham mentioned to me the loss of all his own horses, and the apprehension that we must have suffered much in this way — but gave me no reason to suppose that he had made any discoveries which might lead him to suppose the Enemy were in force to fight us.

Immediately upon my return to Head Quarters, and about half an hour before sun-rising, the attack commenced upon the Militia. Their
9 position

position appeared to me (and I had reconnoitered it well) to have been a very defensible one. For four hundred yards in front, the wood was open and afforded no cover to the Enemy; it could hardly be supposed an attempt would be made upon their rear, for in that case the Indians must have been exposed to two fires—a situation they extremely dread—and besides, the bottom land in that direction, and which was just at the back of their tents, fell suddenly to near thirty feet, and men stepping off only a little distance from it must have put themselves under good cover. I regretted to the General upon the preceding evening that we could not occupy this ground, but the Troops, much fatigued, had at that time got their Camp, and it was too late to alter their disposition.

The firing of the Enemy was preceded for about five minutes by the Indian *Yell*, the first I ever heard: not terrible, as has been represented, but more resembling an infinitude of horse-bells suddenly opening to you, than any other sound I could compare it to. The resistance of the Militia deserves not the name of defence, but should be branded as the most ignominious flight. Except a very faint and feeble fire from their small Guards, I can not learn that there was any opposition, or even the show of it. But dashing “helter skelter” into our Camp, they threw the Battallions, not then quite formed, into some confusion. And not conceiving even *this* a place of sufficient security, they broke through the second line, carrying with them a few men of Gaither’s, and but for a fire they received from the Enemy and which drove them back, there is no doubt but they would have been off. During the whole action their conduct was cowardly in the most shameful degree—a few instances to the contrary excepted.

Close upon the heels of the flying Militia followed the Indians, who for a moment seemed as if determined to enter our Camp with them; but the complexion of the Troops, drawn up in tolerable order and with fixed bayonets, cooled their ardour a little, and they were fain to cover themselves behind logs and bushes at the distance of about seventy yards. From the very early attack upon the Left of the
Front,

Front, and through the whole of the Second Line, there can be little doubt but that we were completely surrounded at the time of the first onset upon the Militia. And though it may be impossible to ascertain with precision the numbers of the Enemy, yet if we estimate them at upwards of a thousand, I am persuaded we shall not overrate them. Taking this for granted, and when it is known that our whole force (the Militia excepted) amounted only to thirteen hundred and eighty men — eighty of whom were Officers' servants, who are very seldom, *if ever*, brought into action — and that the various Guards, equal to two hundred and twenty, by being made up in the general Detail from the corps, and dispersed in the suddenness of the attack, (never after to be effectually collected) reducing our efficient numbers to one thousand and eighty of raw and undisciplined Troops — ignorant totally of the Indian and indeed all other mode of fighting — for the whole Army was constituted by new raised Troops, engaged only for six months — the Second Regiment excepted, and this also was but of the moment, just brought into the field, without time for instruction and never having fired even a blank cartridge — whoever, I say, shall be acquainted with all these circumstances *must* acknowledge that we entertained an unequal war and long maintained the contest, too soon rendered doubtful by the superiority of the Indian mode of fighting. For though very early in the action we lost a considerable number of Officers, yet it was not until a severe service of more than two hours that a Retreat was thought of.

The Second United States Regiment, Butler's and Beddinger's Battalions, the Artillery and the Cavalry were the principal sufferers; — and Gaither's Battallion also experienced great loss. Clark's Battallion, being advantageously posted and acquainted with this kind of fighting, lost but few men, and a Company of Riflemen posted on the Right Flank scarcely any.

Whether it was that the Indians respected and stood aloof from men fighting in some measure after the manner of themselves, or from some other cause, I know not: but it is certain that those Corps suffered

fered less than any others, excepting Patterson's, which was drawn up between them and which shared little in the misfortunes of this day.

The great weight of the Enemy's attack and fire seemed to commence with the Artillery of the First Line, and to continue along Butler's Battallion to the Left and through the whole of the Second. This Battallion charged the Enemy with very great spirit; — and the Artillery, if not well served, was bravely fought and every officer and more than two thirds of the men killed or wounded. Concealed as the Indians were, it was almost impossible to discover them and aim the pieces to advantage; but a large quantity of Cannister and some Round Shot were, however, thrown in amongst them.

The Second United States Regiment made three successive and successful charges, the Enemy giving ground to the powerful effect of their bayonets — but not till they had felt its force. In those arduous services, however, the Regiment was cut up; two officers only being left alive, and one of them wounded.

Our whole loss of Regular Troops and Levies in non-commissioned officers and privates, amounted to five hundred and fifty killed, and two hundred wounded; and of commissioned officers, out of ninety five whom we had in the field, thirty one were killed and twenty four wounded. The Militia* had four officers killed and five wounded, and of non-commissioned officers and privates, thirty eight killed and twenty nine wounded. Fourteen artificers and ten pack-horse men were also killed, and thirteen wounded.

The Indians, in more than one or two instances, during the engagement pushed with a very daring spirit upon the Artillery of the Front Line and on the Left Flank of the Army, and twice gained
our

* By the Return of the Militia upon the morning of the 3^d, they had twenty nine commissioned officers and two hundred and ninety non-commissioned officers and privates present.

our Camp — plundering the tents and scalping the dead and dying — but at both times they were driven back. It happened unfortunately that *this* part of our Encampment was feeble through the day; for the Troops ordered there, being made up of detachments from different Battallions, displayed not that spirit which may be expected from complete Corps, where every man fights under the eye of his own immediate officer, and in the presence of those comrades, who will mark his most minute action, and forever censure or applaud in proportion to the merit of his particular exertions. And it appears very extraordinary that a knowledge of the amazing power of this stimulus does not at least induce all honorary duties of the soldier to be performed in this order. There was not, however, under these circumstances, and scarcely upon any occasion, a want of bravery observable amongst the Troops. At the close of the action, indeed, and after they had been engaged warmly for more than two hours, disorder and confusion seemed to pervade the greatest part of them. They were very much depressed in spirits by the loss of their Officers, and huddled together in crowded parties in various parts of the Encampment where every shot from the Enemy took effect. It was in vain that their surviving leaders used threats and entreaties, and almost every other means that could be devised, to reduce them to the appearance of order.

In this desperate situation of affairs, when even Hope, that last consolation of the wretched, had failed the Army, that the General took the resolution of abandoning his Camp and attempting a Retreat. There was a mere possibility that some of the Troops might be brought off, though it could not be counted on among the probabilities. But there was no alternative. The men must either retreat, or be sacrificed without resistance, as the Enemy were shooting them down at pleasure from behind trees and the most secure covers, whilst they could scarcely be led to discharge a single gun with effect.

Upon this occasion, very extraordinary exertions were made to

draw together men sufficient to give the appearance of efficiency. Feints were made in various directions and different parts of the Encampment, and whilst they served in some measure to produce the first effect, they operated to deceive the Enemy.

Having thus collected in one body the greatest part of the Troops and such of our wounded as could possibly hobble along with us, we pushed out from the Left of the Rear Line, sacrificing our Artillery and Baggage; and with them, we were compelled to leave some of our wounded.

In about one mile and a half, we gained the Road: the Enemy scarcely pursuing beyond that distance, and annoying us very little on our Retreat. There can be no doubt they had it in their power to have cut us off, almost to a man: it is probable, however, that they might have been suspicious of the movement, and therefore thought it most eligible to embrace the opportunity of plunder, before possibly it could be snatched from them. Those unfortunate men also whom we were compelled to leave behind must for a time have engaged their attention.

Although there were but a very few of them — all that were able to walk being brought off, and some of the Officers on horses — yet the sympathy for those few is sufficient to torture the mind of sensibility. The Soldier who has not been compelled to sacrifice his brave companion to all the torments which the most infernal invention can devise, knows not the extent of military sufferings, and is happily a stranger to the most agonizing motives of Vengeance. But the determined resolution of our unfortunate friends, (incapacitated from wounds to quit the field, yet who, as soon as the fate of the day became uncertain charged their pieces with a coolness and deliberation that reflects the highest honour upon their memory), and the firing of Musketry in Camp after we quitted it, leaves us very little room for doubt that their latest efforts were professionally brave, and that where they could pull a trigger they avenged themselves.

It is not probable that many of the Indians fell this day, though there

there are persons who pretend to have seen great numbers of dead. I had myself an opportunity of making observations, but they were not correspondent with this assertion.

The conduct of the Army after quitting the ground was in a most supreme degree disgraceful. Arms, ammunition and accoutrements were almost all thrown away, and even the Officers in some instances divested themselves of their Fuseses and C , exemplifying by this conduct a kind of authority for the most precipitate and ignominious flight.

It was half an hour past nine o'clock when we quitted the field of action, and by seven in the evening, we had reached Fort Jefferson; a distance of twenty nine miles. Here we met the First United States Regiment, and upon the Counsel of the Field-Officers and myself, the General ordered the march to be resumed at ten o'clock, with that Corps, the remains of the Artillery, Cavalry, Second United States Regiment and such of the Militia and Levies as could be collected. They were extremely fatigued, but no refreshment could be obtained for them, there being only three hundred weight of Flour and no meat with the Garrison: and, in fact, upon this information, the Militia and Levies would not be halted, but had pushed forward towards Fort Hamilton.

The probability at this time was that Fort Jefferson would very soon be invested by the Indians, and the great object with the General was to throw in a quantity of Provisions as soon as possible. A convoy of Flour was known to be upon the way, and we had every reason to suppose that by forced marches it might be deposited with the Garrison by next morning. We marched seven miles that night in bad roads without success and were compelled to halt, for the men could not possibly be pushed further.

At Reveillè upon the 5th, we were again in motion, and in three or four miles met the Pack-Horses with flour and a small drove of Cattle.

All

All the last, with fifty loads of the Flour, were immediately pushed towards Fort Jefferson, escorted by a Captain and fifty men of the First Regiment, which it was presumed would be competent to get in, if the Enemy were not in force; and that if they were in force, the whole Army could not effect it. Indeed, the First Regiment, worn down as it was by a constant marching, was the only Corps fit for any kind of duty; — the residue of the Troops being almost all destitute of Arms and Clothing, and very much dispirited by their late defeat. The Convoy, however, happily succeeded, and very few Indians had been observed about the Fort upon the 5th. On the evening of this day, and having marched an hour or two in the night, we were within thirteen miles of Fort Hamilton, and sixty from the field of action; with the *Advance* only, for the Troops at this time were very much dispersed, and some stragglers had stolen forward to seek refreshments. A couple of pounds of flour *per* man was all that we could afford them, and all, indeed, that we could promise ourselves, short of the Fort.

Upon the morning of the 6th November, we moved early and crossed the Miami about ten o'clock. All this day and the forenoon of the 7th, the Troops were coming in to Fort Hamilton, of the wounded and others, in small parties; and so continued for a number of days. Many of the poor fellows, incapable of keeping pace with the foremost in the Retreat, fancied themselves quite in the rear and the Savages at their heels, and being without any means of defence whatever (having, as has been observed, too generally thrown away their arms), they quit the Road and dared not again attempt it till they had struck the Miami River. Some of them, and even of the wounded, were out six, seven and eight days, without the smallest refreshment.

At twelve o'clock upon the 7th of November, we marched from Fort Hamilton with the First Regiment and some shattered remains of Artillery, Cavalry, Second United States Regiment, Levy Corps
and

and Militia (leaving Captain Armstrong, with fifty men of the First United States Regiment as a Garrison), and arrived at Fort Washington upon the Noon of the Eighth.

Every exertion was immediately made to place the wounded in an eligible situation and afford them all the comforts that the circumstances of the country would admit.

The Troops were encamped, and no endeavours were spared to impress them with the idea that they were still Soldiers: but Officers and men seemed to have lost all consideration for military propriety and service. The First and Second Regiments and the Artillery however soon recollected themselves in some measure, but the Levies were lost for ever: their time of service was near expiring; all relation between Officers and men forgot, and not even the semblance of duty acknowledged for the public. Great excesses were committed in the town, and nothing was more devoutly to be wished for than that we were fairly rid of them. In justice, however, it must be observed, that there were Officers whose exertions were not wanting to correct abuses, and others, only prevented from evincing them by wounds and inability:—that they, and the whole Army, were distressed for the want of Clothing, blankets, Camp-equipage (except Tents), and this at a season when they were most essentially necessary. Their situation indeed was truly distressing, and could only be justly conceived of by experiencing it.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED OFFICERS.

ARTILLERY.

Major Ferguson, Captain Bradford and Lieutenant Spear, *killed*.
Captain Ford, *wounded*.

CAVALRY.

Captain Truman, Lieutenant Debutts and Cornet Bhines, *wounded*.

FIRST UNITED STATES REGIMENT.*

Captain Doyle, *wounded*.

SECOND UNITED STATES REGIMENT.

Major Heart, Captains Phelon, Newman and Kirkwood, Lieutenant Warren, Ensigns Balch and Cobb, *killed*. Lieutenant Greaton, *wounded*.

FIRST REGIMENT OF LEVIES.

Captains Vanswearingen, Tipton and Price, Lieutenants McMath and Boyde, Ensigns Wilson, Reaves, Brooks, Chase and Turner, Adjutant Burges and Doctor Grasson, *killed*. Lieutenant-Colonel Darke, Captains Darke and Buchannon, Lieutenants Morgan, Lyle, McRhae, Price and Davidson, and Adjutant Whistler, *wounded*.

SECOND REGIMENT OF LEVIES.

Captains Cribbs, Platt, Smith and Purdy, Lieutenants Kelso and Lukins, Ensigns McMichael, Beatty and Purdy, and Adjutant Anderson,

* Only a baggage-guard of this Corps was with the Army.

derson, *killed*. Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, Captain Slough, Lieutenants Thomson, Cummins and Reed, Ensign Morehead and Adjutant Crawford, *wounded*.

KENTUCKY MILITIA.

Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham, Captain Lemon, Lieutenants Briggs and Montgomery, *killed*. Captains Thomas and Madison, Lieutenants Owens and Stagner, Ensign Walters and Doctor Ganoe, *wounded*.

Major-General Butler, *killed*.

Colonel Sargent, Adjutant General, and the Viscount Malartie, acting as Aide de Camp to the General, *wounded*.

We lost in this action, three six-pounders and three threes, brass, and two pieces of iron ordnance. Two travelling forges and four four-ox-teams, complete; two baggage waggons with horses; three hundred and sixteen pack-horses full-harnessed, besides those of the Contractor's department; thirty nine Artillery, and a considerable number of Dragoon and private riding horses; with the Horseman's swords, pistols, &ca; three hundred and eighty four common and eleven Horseman's Tents and Marquees; twelve hundred muskets and bayonets, with cartridge-boxes, belts and all the other accoutrements complete, and all the Drums of the Army; one hundred and sixty three felling axes; eighty nine spades; eighty eight mattocks; armourer's, carpenter's, blacksmith's and tinman's tools in whole sets; with a variety of valuable etcetera requisite for establishing Works upon the great scale, at the Miami Towns; also two medicine-chests, and a quantity of Quarter-Master's stores; which, together with the provisions of bread and beef in Camp, have been estimated by a tolerably accurate calculation, at the sum of thirty-two thousand, eight hundred and ten dollars.

In

In the before going detail of our unsuccessful Essay with the Savages, I have cautiously avoided marking the conduct of individual characters, and where so laudable exertion prevails for the display of military abilities and prowess, as was evident upon this unfortunate day among all ranks of Officers, in a full proportion to their genius and opportunities, though to discriminate for the *public eye* might be deemed invidious, yet *private memorandums* upon those occasions are useful, in which names may be introduced and particular merit of "all Ranks" (from the Commanding General to the youngest Subaltern Officer), be recorded without injury to individual feelings.

And to commence in the highest grade. It may with justice be observed of our General, that his conduct was cool and brave, and though very much debilitated by a long and severe fit of the Gout, yet, had the Army been respectable in numbers and as equal to the receiving disposition as he was of making it, there can be but little doubt but that the fortunes of the day might have worn a better aspect.

Major-General Butler fought on foot until the moment before he fell, and with his own Command (which was the Front Line), encouraging the men to duty by precept and example. He was shot from his horse about half an hour before the Action was over, and, from the nature of his wound, must have expired within a few moments of the Troops quitting the field.

Lieutenant-Colonels G—— and D—— were both wounded; the former dangerously. Colonel G—— had not, that I know of, an opportunity given him to display much military ability. Colonel D—— was more fortunate. The General ordered him to charge the Enemy with the Second United States Regiment: some consequent and simple movements were obvious—field enough, perhaps, for very subaltern genius, but beyond *his* capacity. The true character of this gentleman is brave, without the most distant semblance of a general. In action, he is most passionately intent upon Indian-killing himself,
but

but inadequate to performing it by battallion; or even by platoons. And in the execution of the command to the Second Regiment, which was performed with great order and spirit, the whole merit is due to Heart and his own Officers, for the Colonel only went along with them, after the exertion for their formation under a heavy and galling fire from the Enemy was over, and in which arduous service, I observed the Adjutant, Mr. Warren, to be particularly active. The Major's conduct through the day was soldierly beyond my expectations.

Major Butler, of the Levies, received a wound in the leg early in the Action that might have excused a modest soldier from duty: but after retiring from the field to dress his wounds, he returned to the charge with spirit, and fought on horseback during the residue of service.

Almost all the Officers of Beddinger's Battallion were cut up at an early period of the Action, without rendering those important services which a judicious and enterprising Field-Officer might have made them competent to. They were conspicuously brave in some instances, and the lives of Captain Vanswearingen and Lieutenant McMath seemed to have been thrown away by themselves with a degree of hardy temerity. Adjutant Burghess fell, exerting himself to rally the broken Troops and reduce them to order, and a Lieutenant Stevenson was remarkably conspicuous from his tact and activity in forming detachments from the scattered soldiers of the Battallion and leading them to duty with great animation. It appeared to me very unfortunate that the Major was absent upon this occasion. The situation of his Corps in the Line early exposed them to a galling fire, and demanded the abilities and command of a Field-Officer. His indisposition had compelled him to quit the Army immediately after its advance from Fort Jefferson. The conduct of Major Clarke was cool and brave. Although his abilities are too moderate and his attentions too small to constitute the perfect Officer, yet he had his Battallion in good order upon this day and to the moment of our
quitting

quitting the field—the command for which he seemed to receive with reluctance and executed with propriety.

Major G——, though not deficient, I presume, in spirit, has too much the *vis inertiae* for a Soldier. I cannot, from my own observation or the intelligence I have been able to acquire, say that he attempted any extraordinary exertion upon this trying occasion.

Major P—— is, beyond a doubt, a damned bad soldier for peace or war, and a very scoundrelly character at all times. To rank him among the Military is extremely disgraceful to the Profession of Arms.

Major Ferguson (whose Department, though in all services the most arduous and attended with as many perils as any in the Army, does not afford a very ample field for the brilliant display of military merit), was a most cool, determined, indefatigable and gallant man, and united all those requisites which are so seldom to be met with, but which are absolutely essential in the Artillery Officer who aspires to the head of that scientific profession.

Lieutenant-Colonel Oldham of the Militia, and who deserved a better command, received a mortal wound in the Camp of the Regular Troops, about half an hour before we quitted the field, and was left, not quite dead. As his own men were early dispersed, he had not an opportunity of exhibiting more than personal coolness and bravery upon this occasion.

Amongst the Captains and Subalterns who fell in this Action and those who survived, it would be difficult even from collective observations of the most judicious Officers to make a just discrimination and render a proper tribute to their memories. They appeared, almost all of them, to put the best possible complexion upon the business to the very latest moment.

Captain Butler, of Clark's Battallion, being called to the duties of a Brigade-Major was, from that consideration perhaps, more immediately an object of my notice and applause. His attentions in the Staff Department, and the coolness and spirit of his behaviour as a Company Officer in action and in his own particular command during
the

the whole Campaign, together with a zeal for enterprise which on many occasions was observable,—point him out as a man of more than ordinary merit, and would induce my commendations to the notice of Government. His situation in life is, I believe, a very dependent one. He resides upon the Frontiers with a hardy set of men perfectly versed in Indian Warfare, and could embody and command them with reputation. In case of another active Campaign, an independent Rifle Corps of a couple of hundred men bestowed upon Captain Butler for the most daring services would, I am persuaded, meet the most sanguine expectations that could reasonably be formed.

Adjutant Crawford, of the same Battallion, (a man of fifty years of age, with all the vigour and activity of forty,) is a brave and attentive officer, and would serve with honour in the Corps above-mentioned. It deserves to be remembered that very early in the Action he received a brace of balls in his body, but that notwithstanding he continued with cheerfulness and spirit to discharge his duty during the Service, and marched with the Army ninety seven miles to Fort Washington, on foot in bad roads, without a murmur or complaint, and scarcely ever betraying the symptoms of fatigue or that he was wounded.

Captain Price, of Gaither's Battallion, a soldier of the last War, fell very gallantly in attempting to lead his own Company to a Charge. He was advanced some paces of his Men when he was shot down.

Ensign Shambourgh, of the First Regiment, who was left in our Camp with their baggage as Quarter Master, behaved with a very becoming spirit, and is endowed with much more military knowledge than falls to the share of most of the Officers in that Corps. He was very useful and attentive at the Artillery (after all the Officers there, and almost all the men were killed or wounded) by serving the pieces as a Volunteer and annoying the Enemy.

Captain Bradford, Lieutenant Spear and Captain Ford fought
bravely

bravely with their pieces, and evinced a coolness and determination that might have insured a happier issue. The two former fell.

Captain Truman and a Mr. Gihon, of the Horse, caught my particular attention as the most enterprising Officers of the Corps: but the situation of the Cavalry, very debilitated at the commencement of the Campaign, and worn down at this time, incapacitated them from any exertion of consequence.

Captain Faulkner, of the Rifle Corps, discovered coolness, spirit and judgment in this Action, and a zeal and attention to Service at all times. A Lieutenant Huston, of his Company, exerted himself with very becoming gallantry through the day.

Doctor Allison, of the First United States Regiment, and who had been appointed the Surgeon-General to the Army, displayed a great share of Military zeal in action by encouraging the broken ranks and assisting the Officers to rally them to the Charge. Although there might have been full employ in the line of his profession, yet circumstances would not admit that attention in the confusion of battle.

Even the women exerted themselves upon this day, and drove out the skulking Militia and fugitives of other Corps from under waggons and hiding places, by firebrands and the usual weapons of their sex. We lost about thirty of them, many of whom were inhumanly butchered, with every indecent and aggravated circumstance of cruelty that can be imagined;—three only making their escape.

Sunday,

Sunday, the 20th of November. Cloudy weather, with light S. E. wind all day. The Chickasaw Indians have departed this evening to their own country with some presents from the Governor, and though not quite equal perhaps to their expectations, yet they seem tolerably well contented with them. A boat has returned this day, after an unsuccessful essay to ascend the Miami to Fort Hamilton. The navigation of that river has been found by the Troops, at almost all times, extremely difficult, and should never be attempted, but when the Ohio has a great superiority of height.

* * * * * *

Tuesday, November 22nd. Cloudy calm weather all day. Major Zeigler has returned with his command from Fort Jefferson after a very fatiguing march; the flat part of the country being under water, and the whole road extremely deep and miry. The Miami River is not now fordable and 'tis probable it will not again be, until the next summer. Some wounded officers returned with Major Zeigler; and the Garrison consisted of one hundred and sixteen men, and there were there forty wounded, of Officers and Privates, when he left it. No Indians have been seen upon his march, but a great many of their tracks observed; and two men, missing from his detachment, are supposed to be taken by them. Three men of the Second United States Regiment deserted last night, with a boat, down the river.

* * * * * *

Thursday, November 24th. Strong wind from the West, with rain nearly all day. General Scott and about two hundred Kentucky Militia have arrived at Cincinnati, upon a projected expedition to the Indian Country, but there can be no doubt it must fail. It was proposed to assemble fifteen hundred men, and they were generally turning out, I am informed, with great spirit on the report that Fort

Jefferson was invested, but, upon its being contradicted, they have dispersed to their homes. The present opportunity would certainly be a very favourable one for an incursion to the Indian Country, and productive of very happy effects. And unless some stroke shall be made in this winter to damp the spirits of the Enemy, they will probably give us much trouble in the Spring.

Friday, November 25th. Very strong wind from the West, with a small flight of snow last night: moderate wind from the same quarter during the day, and cold, cloudy weather. We have information of small parties of Indians in the neighbourhood of Forts Hamilton and Jefferson.

Saturday, November 26th. Moderate Westerly wind, and fair, cold weather all day. General Scott and the Militia have returned to Kentucky, upon certain information that the Expedition cannot now be carried forward.

Sunday, November 27th. Light Easterly wind, and snow, till 4 P. M., with moderate weather all day. Two inches have fallen, upon a level. About forty men of the Second Regiment, under a Subaltern Officer, have been detached for the Muskingum this day.

* * * * *

Wednesday, November 30th. Calm all day and fair weather.

The waters of the Ohio have been rising for some time and are now high, with a probability of their remaining up, as there are, at present, strong indications of Rain.

Major Hantranck departed this evening for Vincennes, with Captain Beattie's Company. He took along with him two Indians, who came from the Aubashe last summer, to visit their wives in captivity at this Garrison.

* * * * *

Thursday,

Thursday, December 8th. Weather fair, and light wind from the West.

The Governour has departed from the Territory for Philadelphia, by the way of Louisville, Lexington and through the Wilderness; and by his absence, my duty as Adjutant General ceases.

* * * *

Appendix.

Appendix.

I.

Wednesday, February the 1st (1792). Strong N. W. wind all last Night, and moderate, from the same quarter, during the Day: some small flights of Snow in the morning, and the residue fair.

In motion at seven o'clock, and arrived upon the field of Action at half-past ten: distance, eight miles.

To conceive of the various conflicts and emotions of my mind, upon a view of this melancholy Theatre of our recent misfortunes, 'tis essential to become an Actor in a similar Scene of Tragedy: to view brave companions falling around you in every quarter, without a possibility of avenging themselves; and to be exposed for more than two hours and a half to a most galling and heavy fire, without a single ray of Hope or Consolation, but that the Enemy, deriving courage and confidence from the reduced numbers and thinness of our Ranks, would rush on to closer quarters, and suffer us to sell our lives in the Charge of the Bayonet. Despair then, I know, would have steeled our Nerves, and engaged, man to man, every soldier acting more than hero, would have glutted his own and Country's Vengeance in the blood of our infernal Foe.

Although the whole field was covered with twenty inches of Snow, yet, at every tread of the Horses' feet, dead bodies were exposed to view, mutilated, mangled and butchered with the most savage barbarity: and, indeed, there seems to have been left no act of indecent Cruelty or Torture which was not practised on this occasion, to the women as well as men.

Upon

Upon a review of this ground, I find that the Sketch I have made of it is a tolerably correct one. The immediate spot of the Encampment appears very strong, and is certainly so defensible against Regular Troops that I believe any military man who has not had the fatal experience of the late misfortune would have unhesitatingly have pitched upon it. It is, however, (I must confess) surrounded by close woods, thick bushes and old logs, which afford the best cover for an Indian Attack; but these appear now to be very much increased since I observed them, before the Action.

In riding around our lines, I was astonished to see the amazing effect of the Enemy's fire; particularly, from the Artillery of the Front Line, on, to and round the Left Flank, and beyond the Artillery of the Rear. Every twig and bush seems to be cut down, and the Saplings and larger Trees marked with the utmost profusion of their shot.

Our own fire seems very loose, and, even the Artillery, to have been directed with very little judgment upon that day.

The ground of the Militia Encampment is confirmed in my mind to have been the proper position for the Army. It is the same high Flat which has been heretofore described, and capacious enough to have admitted of any extent of Lines. It has been reconnoitered this day, on, forward two miles and a half, upon a Course North-westerly, where the Path again crosses the Stream that was in front of our Encampment, and where it runs to the N. E., a circumstance that serves to evince pretty clearly that it is the Saint Mary's. In the meandering of this water from the Left of the Battle Ground on to the West, North, and so toward the East, two Branches of nearly equal width with the main Stream, one at half a mile, and the other at a mile's distance, empty themselves into it; and at the confluence of those, as well as at the Place of Crossing, before mentioned, are some considerable Encampments which, beyond a doubt, were occupied by the Indians on the night preceding our Defeat; so that had Col^o. Oldham sent forward the Parties which he was directed to do,

we

we might have acquired such information of the Enemy, as would have enabled us at least to have fought them upon our own terms, and, perhaps, given a very different complexion to the fortunes of that day.

We have all been very busily engaged since our arrival upon this Ground in rendering the last solemn rites to the Victims of War, searching for the Artillery (but without effect), and burning the Waggons and such of the Gun Carriages as have been materially injured, in order to take off the iron-work. We have collected about three Tons, and buried many of our Dead; but *this* task has been so arduous (the bodies being frozen down to the ground, quite covered with Snow, and breaking to pieces in tearing them up) that it has not been fully completed. Indeed, it seemed to be the Labour of days: and the provisions of the Men and provender for the Cavalry (very much worn down by their severe marches) is too nearly exhausted to render it in any degree proper to bestow this time—more particularly, as we must almost immediately expect thawing weather, and that the Country will in consequence be long rendered impassable.

II.

Monday, April 23rd, 1792.

* * * * *

Ensign Turner of the Levies, supposed to have been killed in the Action of the 4th of November, we are informed has arrived in Philadelphia. Being close pursued by some Indians in the Retreat, and finding Resistance vain, he submitted himself and was carried to Detroit, where a private Gentleman ransomed him for an inconsiderable Sum of money. He learned while a Prisoner that the Enemy in Action amounted to fifteen hundred men under the command of BLUE JACKET, and that they had nine hundred more at no great Distance—They acknowledge only thirty killed.

III.

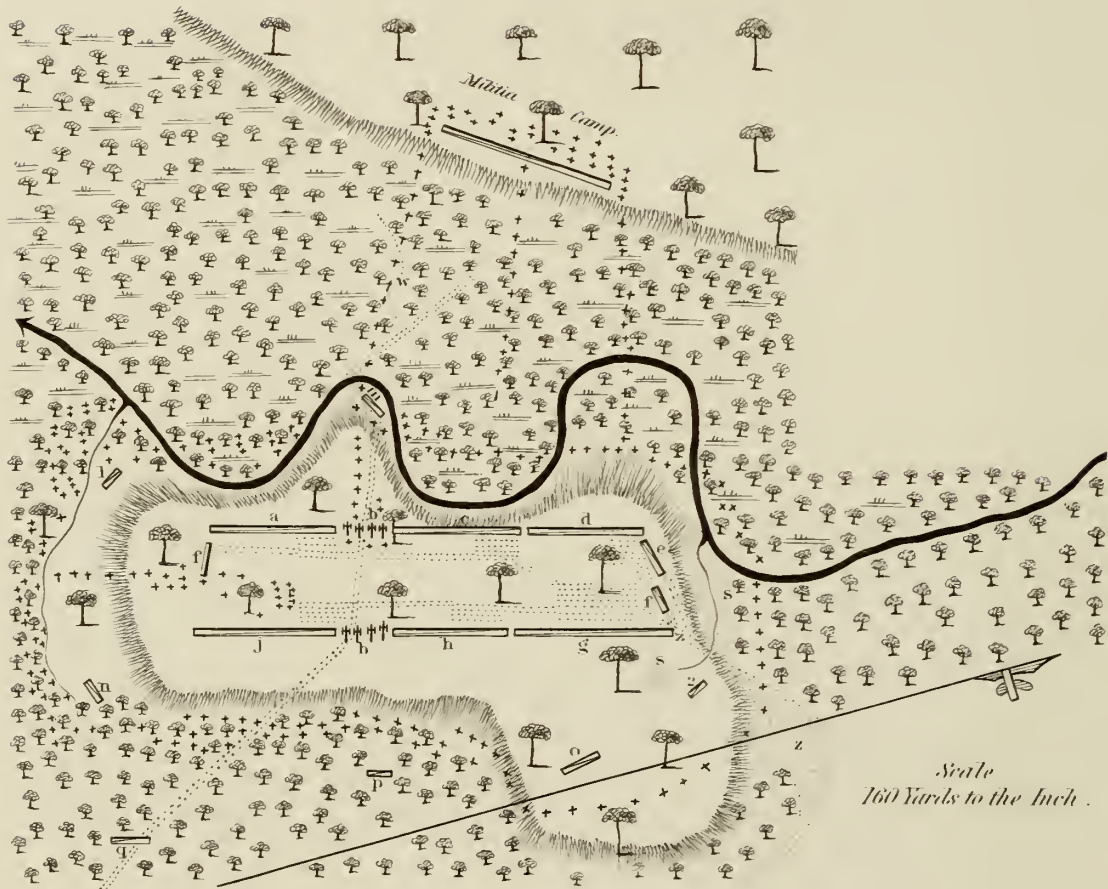
Thursday, November 22nd, 1792.

* * * * *

A man by the name of Rennels who deserted from Fort Jefferson last Summer and has been with the Indians, arrived here this Day. He reports that he had been almost starved after leaving the Fort before he could fall in with any of their Towns or Camps:—that his first Discovery was of a very large War Party, two or three hundred strong, who had just halted for the night;—that he rushed suddenly into the midst of them and was immediately surrounded by them with Guns, Bows and Arrows, Clubs and Tomahawks, but throwing away a rifle that he had with him, they seized upon him, declaring, after he had informed them who he was, whence he came, &c., that he should be burned to Death when the Sun went down. He however by assuming a cheerful Countenance and endeavouring to be very useful in helping them to form their Camp, make their Fires, and other Services, averted this Fate, and, in a couple of hours, became adopted amongst them—his head shaved, painted, &c., as is their custom upon such occasions—and has since, by his own Account, been much in favour with them. He relates that he has been with them to the British Posts,—Michilmakinac particularly. That they are there equipped with all the necessaries to come to war against the U. States—march out upon these occasions under English Colours, and are received when they return with Scalps with military parade and every mark of Approbation and Encouragement. This man has brought to me from Mischilimakinac a couple of small memorandum books in manuscript which I left in the Field upon the 4th of Nov^r, at General St. Clair's Defeat. They were sewed up under a blank Cover to my address but without any information of the person sending them to me.

This Edition of the Diary of Colonel
Winthrop Sargent hath been
privately printed: and the
Plates Engraved:
for George
Wymberley-Jones.
Being the Fourth of the
series of Wormsloe quartos. The
impression is limited to forty-six copies.

*A Plan of the Encampment
and Sketch of the Action, Retreat & upon Nov. 1st 1774.
By W. Sargent.
Adj. Genl.*



Explanations.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| a. Butler's Battalion. | l. n. p. 2. flank Guards. |
| b. Artillery. | o. g. Digouts. |
| h. Smith's Battalion. | s. Swamps. |
| d. Patterson's Battalion. | m. Camp Guard. |
| e. Faulkner's Company. | ♠♠ Cannon. |
| f. Cavalry. | +++ Enemy. |
| g. Soverel Regiment. | u. Troops Retiring. |
| c. Clark's Battalion. | w. Continuation of an old
Indian Road. |
| j. Beddingers. | |

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